

ER - 2558/1

**Office of Legislative Liaison**

**Routing Slip**

| TO:              | ACTION | INFO |
|------------------|--------|------|
| 1. D/OLL         |        | X    |
| 2. DD/OLL        |        | X    |
| 3. Admin Officer |        | X    |
| 4. Liaison       |        | o    |
| 5. Legislation   |        | X    |
| 6                |        | X    |
| 7                |        | X    |
| 8                |        |      |
| 9.               |        |      |
| 10.              |        |      |
| SUSPENSE         |        |      |
|                  | Date   |      |

Action Officer:

WFO

Remarks:

STAT

STAT

STAT

27 Jun 85  
Date

**EXECUTIVE SECRETARIAT**  
**ROUTING SLIP**

TO:

|          |          | ACTION | INFO | DATE | INITIAL |
|----------|----------|--------|------|------|---------|
| 1        | DCI      |        | X    |      |         |
| 2        | DDCI     |        | X    |      |         |
| 3        | EXDIR    |        |      |      |         |
| 4        | D/ICS    |        |      |      |         |
| 5        | DDI      |        | X    |      |         |
| 6        | DDA      |        | X    |      |         |
| 7        | DDO      |        | X    |      |         |
| 8        | DDS&T    |        |      |      |         |
| 9        | Chm/NIC  |        |      |      |         |
| 10       | GC       |        |      |      |         |
| 11       | IG       |        |      |      |         |
| 12       | Compt    |        |      |      |         |
| 13       | D/OLL    |        | X    |      |         |
| 14       | D/PAO    |        | X    |      |         |
| 15       | VC/NIC   |        |      |      |         |
| 16       | NIO/CT   |        | X    |      |         |
| 17       | C/CPN/DO |        | X    |      |         |
| 18       |          |        |      |      |         |
| 19       |          |        |      |      |         |
| 20       |          |        |      |      |         |
| 21       |          |        |      |      |         |
| 22       |          |        |      |      |         |
| SUSPENSE |          |        |      |      |         |
| Date     |          |        |      |      |         |

Remarks

STAT

Executive Secretary

27 Jun 85

Date

NEWT GINGRICH  
SIXTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

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TRANSPORTATION  
HOUSE ADMINISTRATION

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**Congress of the United States**  
**House of Representatives**

June 26, 1985

**Record**

ALL PLS. DHL

Recept 11

Hon. William Casey  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
General Delivery  
Washington, DC 20505

Dear Bill:

The attached letter and memorandum to President Reagan  
are self-explanatory.

We are in grave danger of drifting into a disaster.  
This memorandum outlines the key steps to avoid that  
disaster.

I would be glad to discuss these principles in more  
detail at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Newt Gingrich

NG/gw

11 20 AM '85  
JUN 27

NEWT GINGRICH  
SIXTH DISTRICT, GEORGIA

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## Congress of the United States

House of Representatives  
June 26, 1985

The Honorable Ronald Reagan  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The attached memorandum applies the lessons of the art of war as developed by Clausewitz and Sun T'zu to the problem of terrorism and "the war against Americans."

I hope you find it useful and would be delighted to discuss the technical details of applying the classic art of war to planning American strategies against terrorism.

Sincerely,

Newt Gingrich

NG/qw

THE 1985 HOSTAGE CRISIS AND THE LESSONS OF  
DESERT I AND PAST LEBANON INSURRECTIONS

BY Newt Gingrich  
June 26, 1985

"No one starts a war--or rather, no one in his senses ought to do so--without first being clear in his mind what he intends to achieve by that war and how he intends to conduct it. The former is its political purpose: the latter is its operational objective. This is the governing principle which will set its course, prescribe the scale of means and effort which is required, and make its influence felt throughout down to the smallest operational detail." (Clausewitz, On War)

In recent years the national security bureaucracy (State, Defense, and the National Security Council) has undertaken short term tactical actions which were too large to be elegant and effective and too small to be massive and effective.

Both Desert I and more recent activities in Lebanon (Embassy bombings, Marine barracks, and the retaliation raid with two aircraft shotdown and an American pilot held as a POW in Syria) should serve as a warning that the bureaucracies have failed at small operations for the last eleven years and are likely to fail in the current crisis.

It is vital that the President ask four tough questions of the National Security bureaucracies:

1. What are the strategic goals for which we are willing to risk the lives of our sons?
2. Assuming our opponents are tough, dedicated and competent, what steps can they take to counteract and withstand our strategies? If Phase I fails, what are the costs to the U.S.? What would a Phase II require to insure American goals are achieved despite our opponents counter efforts? American defeats in the Bay of Pigs, Vietnam and Lebanon in 1983 were all in large part caused by failure to answer these questions prior to committing forces.
3. What institutional and legal changes are necessary to enable the United States to effectively wage war on terrorism? Now is the time to repeal the liberal welfare state prohibitions on intelligence agencies, on police training in the third world, etc.
4. How can the President and his allies act systematically to develop popular and political-legislative understanding of and support for a long-term strategy which can defeat terrorism? In a free society the most important and powerful presidential reaction to today's events is to use them to educate the country to support tomorrow's

It is possible to build a pattern of firmness, preparedness, and toughness strategically without taking immediate tactical actions involving force. Eisenhower, on numerous occasions in the 1950's, and Kennedy, in the 1961 Berlin crisis, were successful in building a show of force without using force. In Sun T'zu's phrase, "The greatest of all generals win bloodless victories."

Our first goals should be mobilizing American power, educating the American people and passing decisive changes in our national security laws. Then, if we still have not achieved success in the Lebanon hostage situation, we will be at a peak of political, military and diplomatic readiness to use overwhelming force with overwhelming public support to achieve a clearly stated strategic goal.

Rescuing the current hostages without developing public understanding and support for a long-term strategy could lead to a short-term success and a long-term failure. Recent terrorist actions in El Salvador, Germany, Lebanon and with the Sikhs are merely the tip of an iceberg. It is vital we not accept a tactical solution to a strategic problem. Developing and implementing a long-term solution will be the key to defeating terrorism. It is to Clausewitz' "being clear in his mind what he intends to achieve... and how he intends to achieve it" that we must first direct ourselves.